

Message Text

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ACTION PM-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 H-03

ACDA-19 IO-13 AEC-11 OIC-04 AECE-00 OMB-01 RSR-01

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O R 171654Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6330

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 10162

DEPT ALSO PASS PENTAGON FOR SCTY SCHLESINGER AND
WHITE HOUSE FOR DR. KISSINGER.

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-1

TAGS: GW, US, PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR--STATIONED/INDIGENOUS REDUCTION ISSUE

SUMMARY: FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH, WHO
ACCOMPANIED FONMIN SCHEEL TO WASHINGTON, TOLD EMBOFF
JULY 17 THAT HE HAD MET FOLLOWING HIS RETURN WITH
DEFMIN LEBER TO DISCUSS THE MBFR STATIONED/INDIGENOUS
REDUCTION ISSUE BEFORE LEBER'S US VISIT. ROTH SAID
HE HAD MADE GOOD USE WITH LEBER OF THE POINTS MADE
IN WASHINGTON BY SCHEEL AND BY SENIOR US OFFICIALS;
ROTH BELIEVES LEBER IS NOW PREPARED TO AGREE TO TWO
PHASED MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, WITH THE INITIAL PHASE
TREATING STATIONED FORCES (AS WELL AS CONSTRAINTS)
AND AGREEING TO A SECOND NEGOTIATION PHASE ON INDIGENOUS
FORCES. ROTH EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT SECDEF AND

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DR. KISSINGER WOULD SUPPORT THIS APPROACH IN THEIR

MEETINGS WITH MINISTER LEBER. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING JULY 17 DISCUSSION OF SCHEEL VISIT WITH EMBOFF, ROTH SAID HE AND FONMIN SCHEEL HAD BEEN PLEASED WITH DISCUSSIONS THEY HAD HAD IN WASHINGTON ON MBFR STATIONED/INDIGENOUS ISSUE. ROTH SAID HE HAD MADE GOOD USE WITH LEBER OF BOTH ARGUMENTATION ADVANCED AND "COMMON EVALUATION" EVIDENT DURING SCHEEL MEETING WITH SENIOR US OFFICIALS.

2. ROTH SAID SCHEEL'S MEETINGS IN THE WHITE HOUSE HAD BROUGHT HOME TO HIM CLEARLY THE SERIOUS PRESSURES CURRENTLY EMMANATING FROM THE CONGRESS ON THE ISSUE OF US TROOP PRESSURES IN EUROPE. AS SCHEEL UNDERSTOOD THESE PRESSURES COULD BECOME CRITICAL SOMETIME IN 1974, ROTH HAD WITH THE FONMIN'S APPROVAL EMPHASIZED TO LEBER THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING ANY ACTION THAT COULD BURDEN THE PRESIDENT'S DETERMINED EFFORT TO HOLD THE LINE AGAINST UNILATERAL TROOP CUTS. ROTH SAID SCHEEL ALSO FULLY SHARED THE US POSITION EXPRESSED TO NATO AMBASSADORS AT SAN CLEMENTE THAT DELAYING TACTICS BY AMERICA'S EUROPEAN ALLIES WOULD BE MOST COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN THIS CONNECTION.

3. ROTH SAID SCHEEL ALSO WAS PLEASED WITH US RECEPTIVITY TO THE FONMIN'S ARGUMENTATION ON THE MBFR STATIONED/INDIGENOUS REDUCTION ISSUE. HE SAID SCHEEL HAD ARGUED FOR AN "OVERALL NEGOTIATING PROGRAM TO BE IMPLEMENTED IN VARIOUS STEPS". IN PARTICULAR, SCHEEL HAD PROPOSED THAT, WITHIN AN INTEGRAL ALLIANCE PROGRAM COMPRISING STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCES, REDUCTIONS WOULD BE NEGOTIATED IN PHASES. DURING THE FIRST PHASE STATIONED FORCE REDUCTIONS (AS WELL AS CONSTRAINTS) WOULD BE NEGOTIATED, AND THERE WOULD BE AN AGREEMENT TO COMMENCE A SECOND NEGOTIATING PHASE DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT REDUCTIONS IN INDIGENOUS FORCES. ROTH SAID SCHEEL APPRECIATED THE POSITIVE US REACTION TO THIS APPROACH--HE SAID KEY US OFFICIALS TERMED IT "ACCEPTABLE". SCHEEL ALSO UNDERSTOOD THE US VIEW THAT, IN THE INTEREST OF AVOIDING ADVERSE AFFECTS
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WITH THE CONGRESS, EUROPEAN ALLIES SHOULD AVOID THE USE OF SPECIFIC TIMING OR FIGURES IN CONNECTION WITH INDIGENOUS FORCE CUTS.

4. ROTH SAID BOTH HE, AND VON STADEN IN TELEGRAMS FROM WASHINGTON, HAD USED THE ABOVE ARGUMENTATION WITH LEBER BEFORE THE DEFMIN'S DEPARTURE FOR THE US. ACCORDING TO ROTH, LEBER HAD ACCEPTED BOTH THE

RATIONALE AND THE POSITION ADVANCED BY SCHEEL IN WASHINGTON. ROTH SAID LEBER EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING FOR THE ALLIANCE'S NEED EXPEDITIOUSLY TO SETTLE ON AN AGREED MBFR PROGRAM. LEBER ALSO HAD EMPHASIZED HIS WISH TO AVOID ANY POSITION THAT COULD FURTHER STIR UP CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES ON THE TROOP ISSUE. LEBER SAID HIS KEY REQUIREMENT WAS THE NEED FOR SOME INSTRUMENT TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE GERMAN PUBLIC THAT, WHILE IT WOULD NOT NOW BE POSSIBLE TO REDUCE BUNDESWEHR

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FORCES OR DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, THERE IS A CLEAR INTENTION TO NEGOTIATE "WITHIN A LIMITED FUTURE TIME FRAME", OVER BUNDESWEHR REDUCTIONS. LEBER SAID HE DID NOT CONSIDER THIS PARTICULAR "PUBLIC SALES JOB" TO BE AN EASY ONE, BUT INDICATED THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE IT.

5. ACCORDINGLY, LEBER GAVE ROTH TO UNDERSTAND THAT

HE COULD ACCEPT INITIAL MBFR NEGOTIATIONS LIMITED TO STATIONED FORCE REDUCTIONS AND CONSTRAINTS AS LONG AS HE OBTAINED A PUBLICLY USABLE COMMITMENT OUT OF MBFR-I NEGOTIATIONS TO NEGOTIATE OVER INDIGENOUS FORCES IN MBFR-II TALKS. ROTH NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SEVERAL DEFMIN OFFICIALS STILL PREFER TO INCLUDE BUNDESWEHR FORCES IN INITIAL MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. HE THEREFORE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE, "NOW THAT THE IRON IS HOT", OF SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AND DR. KISSINGER SUPPORTING THE ABOVE NEGOTIATING APPROACH DURING THEIR CURRENT MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON WITH MINISTER LEBER.

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6. FINALLY, ROTH RECALLED THAT AT LAST WORD MINISTER BAHR CONTINUED TO FAVOR INCLUSION OF INDIGENOUS FORCES IN INITIAL MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. ROTH SAID BAHR STILL BELIEVED ASSYMETRICAL SOVIET CUTS COULD ONLY BE OBTAINED IN RETURN FOR BUNDESWEHR REDUCTIONS. ROTH SAID HE HAD EXPRESSED STRONG DISAGREEMENT TO BAHR ON THIS POINT. ROTH SAID HE HAD ARGUED WITH BAHR THAT IT WOULD NOT BE BUNDESWEHR FORCE CUTS BUT ONLY, PERHAPS, REDUCTIONS IN WESTERN TACNUCS THAT COULD MOVE THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT SOME ASSYMETRY IN GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS. ROTH SAID HE HOPED BAHR WOULD SHIFT HIS GROUND ON THE STATIONED/INDIGENOUS ISSUE IF, FOLLOWING THE DEFMIN'S RETURN FROM WASHINGTON, LEBER WOULD CLEARLY SIGNAL HIS OWN CONCURRENCE WITH THE FONOFF POSITION ADVANCED BY SCHEEL IN WASHINGTON.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 JUL 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN10162
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: XS HILLENBRAND
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730730/aaaaavny.tel
Line Count: 204
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION PM
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13-Aug-2001 by shawdg>; APPROVED <10-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR--STATIONED/INDIGENOUS REDUCTION ISSUE SUMMARY: FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH, WHO
TAGS: PARM, GE, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005